DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 022 806 UD 004 167

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DEVIANCY AND THE DISADVANTAGED.

Pub Date Aug 67
Note-21p.; Paper presented at Conf. on the Disadvantaged (Univ. of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, June 8-9, 1967)
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$0.92
Descriptors-BEHAVIOR PATTERNS, *COUNSELING, DELINQUENTS, *DISADVANTAGED YOUTH, ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGEMENT, GROUP BEHAVIOR, GROUP COUNSELING, HOSTILITY, LOWER CLASS, MIDDLE CLASS NORM, NEUROLOGICALLY HANDICAPPED, REHABILITATION, SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT, *SOCIAL ATTITUDES, *SOCIAL DIFFERENCES, *SOCIALLY DEVIANT BEHAVIOR, TEACHER ATTITUDES

This conference paper points out that there are different patterns of social deviancy among the various socioeconomic classes, and remedial treatment must take this class differential into account. For example, practitioners should be aware that there is a greater incidence of brain damage among children from impoverished families, and that lower-class deviancy is more aggressive and blatant than middle-class deviancy. Much of the hostility of disadvantaged youth stems from their subordinate, marginal role in society. Since these youths tend to function best in groups, therapy or counseling might be most effective in a group situation. Moreover, in the remediation process a preconceived notion of how children "should" act serves a self-fulfilling prophecy and hinders successful treatment. Educators and social practitioners should have a specific understanding of the disadvantaged child and actively realize that poverty contributes heavily to the deviancy which exists among members of the lower class. Reactions to this conference paper are included. (DK)

EDUCATION AND THE DISADVANTAGED

Proceedings of A Conference on the Disadvantaged

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

June 8 and 9, 1967

UD 004 167

ED022806

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UD 004 167

THE "WHY"
OF BEHAVIOR!

Mr. Wattenberg's remarks appear to center on three topics---the first relates to the caution which must be exercised when attempting to categorize the behaviors of disadvantaged students, the second is an examination of those patterns of behavior which appear peculiar to the disadvantaged, and the third describes the implications of those behavioral patterns for the schools.

Educators dealing with groups of disadvantaged are cautioned to avoid stereotyping those who live under varying degrees of economic and cultural deprivation; that deviancy is as common among middle-class children as among lower-class children, although there appear to be differentials regarding the nature which the deviancy takes. Another factor calling for extreme care on the part of those who deal with the disadvantaged focuses on the extent to which some of the children may be brain damaged. Studies have shown that there is a considerably greater amount of brain-damaged children among youth from the lower socio-economic class and this condition, often not apparent to the educator, necessitates a different type of education for the children so afflicted. The third caution is expressed in the form of a reminder that to the extent that the deviancy patterns of disadvantaged youth differ from those of the middle class, to that extent must we also seek out patterns of remediation different from those which we commonly utilize when dealing with those problems of which we have a better understanding.

As was so clearly described by Mr. Wattenberg, the nature of the deviancy which occurs among disadvantaged youths differs from that commonly associated with middle-class youths particularly with regard to its blatancy and aggressiveness. His analysis of the causes of these peculiarities is

both insightful and illuminating.

Finally, through examples and an analysis of related variables, the differential nature of the remediation process required in therapeutic work with disadvantaged students is presented. In particular, we are shown that, to a considerable extent, our preconceived notions of how children "should" act seriously impairs the possibility of our being successful when dealing with these students. Our preconceptions have a habit of becoming "realities," largely through our own efforts.

It is especially interesting to note that the highest concentrations of deviancy studied by Mr. Wattenberg appeared in those schools in which the principals and staffs had "given up" and exhibited extremely low levels of morale. It is apparent from the presentation that, as much as any other factor, a true sense of commitment to helping those burdened with the problem of disadvantagement is needed if any degree of success is to be attained.

DEVIANCY AND THE DISADVANTAGED

William W. Wattenberg*

The topic for discussion today revolves around two major questions. Are there patterns of social deviancy which are peculiar to children from disadvantaged backgrounds? If so, what do these imply for the programs of our schools and our social agencies?

Before dealing with these questions we must raise two cautions. The first is to recognize that there is great danger of stereotyped thinking in much sociological material which deals with the populations which suffer from economic disadvantagement. The clear fact is that these populations are quite heterogeneous. Among them one can find all modes of behavior, from adherence to the most middle class standards of conduct on one hand to wildly impulsive, sensation-sating behavior on the other. But, then, a similar range can be seen in upper-class suburbs. What is true is that there are differences in the volume, the frequency with which one encounters given patterns. Some writers and some speakers create a false impression when they say without qualification that "The disadvantaged have little sense of the future," for example, or that "Disadvantaged children accept violence."

The second caution is that deviant behavior is by no means the prerogative of "the disadvantaged." There are some forms which are more frequent among the children of affluence. One example may suffice. In

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our area we became aware of the fact that the police had found evidence strong enough to support arrest and conviction for marihuana sales rings in the high schools of the two wealthiest suburbs in our area. Somewhat after that, strong evidence was found in three high schools in Detroit which have very high proportions of well-to-do children in their student bodies. A few weeks later, police again found evidence in another suburb. The mayor of that one piously announced that the marihuana was coming in from Detroit, and especially its inner city. In cold fact there had been thorough undercover investigations in several of the inner-city high schools. Those schools were "clean" of what at that point in time was a form of illegal activity which had predominantly middle-class practitioners. Years ago, in a study of auto theft, James Balistrieri and I found that offense, an undeniably criminal one, was proportionately higher among white youth than among Negro youth; and had higher incidence in young people whose ancestry traced back to Western Europe than to either Eastern or Southern Europe.

The reason for stressing these two cautions is that, unless we do so, we can unintentionally libel large groups in the general population. We do want to devote most of our attention to types of deviancy which indeed are much more common in disadvantaged groups. But, the nature of the problem must be seen in its larger context, and not be used to buttress the prejudices which traditionally have sought to alibi the very discrimination which results in the disadvantages.

Let us begin, then, with a few facts concerning the ways in which economic disadvantagement is linked to certain clear-cut causes of social deviancy and examine what each implies for the work of our several youth-serving agencies. One fact which it is often difficult to assimilate

because of its pessimistic impact is that there is a definite connection between the socio-economic class of a pregnant woman and the odds that her child will be born with various degrees of brain damage. This fact, demonstrated with heart-rendingly accurate statistics in Pasamanick's follow-up of Baltimore Hospital records, seems traceable to two factors. Due to poor nutrition and due to toxemias linked to inadequate pre-natal care, the fetus has not had too good a chance to develop with full normality. This shows itself in a higher proportion of still-born children, a higher proportion who are severely retarded, a higher proportion who have explosive behavior characteristics, and a higher proportion with reading disabilities of neurological origin.

As many in this audience know, brain damage and neurological impairment are not conditions which we know how to correct at the present time. To some extent, the behavioral manifestations may be limited by medication. The victims may respond better to instruction in structured classes and if protected from over-stimulation.

However, many of the boys and girls get caught up in a vicious cycle which pushes them toward more and more deviant behavior to the point where they may be labeled "acting-out aggressive youngsters". When subjected to even moderate frustrations they may react with rage. The first manifestations of this may be threatening to parents. Among families in the lower socio-economic groups, parental discipline is often aroused by disobedience and is frequently very direct. The angry reactions of the boy or girl draws retaliation which leads to further outbursts. The parent-child relationship is poisoned. When we see it years later after the youngster has reached school we speak of "maternal rejection" as being responsible for the child's "anti-social" conduct. But, it does not yield to casework or one-to-one therapy.

There is unquestionably a class differential in what happens to an acting-out, possibly brain-damaged child. If he is born into a middle-class home, there is a good chance that even before he has reached school the family has consulted several doctors. There is a possibility that he will have been given a neurological examination and placed on medication. There is even a possibility he may have been placed in one of the rare schools which specializes in working with this type of problem. Recently I read through samples of folders in our Psychological Clinic on children who had been placed in classes for mentally retarded children. The folders from middle-class schools were bulging with material contributed by the family and by the physicians they had consulted!

Not so with the folders from inner-city schools! What happens to those children? If the families are really marginal they get medical care not from a single physician but from whoever is on duty when they turn up at a clinic. There is small probability that they will have been the subject of complicated work-ups. When the child appears in school, his propensity for fighting and for direct action is all too likely to be attributed either to the fact he lives in an environment which expects physical action or that his parents have made known the fact they consider him bad and have dealt harshly with him. We are prone to accept either a sociological or psychological explanation for his behavior patterns. By doing so, we may deny him the program which would be set in motion had we looked for the physical factors.

There is another sequel to this which frankly frightens me even more. Today we are seeing something very laudable--into the disadvantaged areas there has been a small influx of principled people who have volunteered to work with the disadvantaged. They too encounter the type of young person

about whom we have been speaking. They are likely to try to befriend, to try to teach, and to use the many arts of person-to-person communication. But, if brain damage or neurological impairment is in the picture, their efforts may go unrewarded. The less saintly among them may then come to the conclusion, after a dramatic "failure," that "those people cannot be helped."

What is the moral? We must bring to our disadvantaged children the same resources in diagnostic thoroughness we bring to the best schools and the best communities. We cannot allow ourselves to be lulled into slipshod ways by the fact that the total number of children who need study may reach impossibly massive proportions.

Now, let us turn to a very contrasting type of deviant behavior by youth. Many boys and girls who grow up in the urban disadvantaged areas face a very cruel set of facts as they approach the final years of their formal education. They know and we have told them that the real opportunities in this highly technical world of ours are dependent upon the possession of knowledge and complex skills. They realize, as their report cards and their achievement test grades attest, that we have not been able to bring them to the required levels. Parenthetically, let me state that we lack much of the knowledge we ought to have as a profession if we were to turn many of today's losers into winners; it is not through negligence or bad intentions that we cannot yet do what many of us wish we could do. Whatever the reason, many of them will feel cheated. To them, looking for someone to blame, there may be a tendency to fix upon some tangible villain--the principal of the school, for example. Then, we find ourselves confronting one or another form of more or less organized protest--a series of demonstrations, a boycott, a riot. That such events occur is certainly

understandable. And, when they occur far from us, in Los Angeles or New York, we can see the deviancy in perspective. We can even recognize that protest is healthier than apathy, and we can see that a shocked community is more likely to be serious about improving education than it was when complacent. But, if the protest is in our own city, then we often know the persons chosen to be target for the complaint; they may be rather nice, well-meaning people. The accusations are often personally unfair; and the principal actors "on the other side" may wear beards and have a history of irritating behavior.

What do we do about this type of "deviancy?" Adept administrators usually know how to blunt the thrust of protest by involving the main actors in long drawn-out studies of conditions. This should truly be much more than a neat gambit. The fact is that even though we cannot yet find ways of insuring all children, despite their motivational deficiencies, the full benefit of what education can be, we can at least keep trying. We can do everything we know how to do.

Let me take one symbolic fact as an illustration of what the last remarks were intended to convey. Last summer, following a boycott, we gathered data on a number of schools where morale was low. We found among other things that in such schools the boys and girls would tell us that the teachers really did not care about them. I recall one young girl, whom we were sure was engaged in a very old profession, said, "This is an awful school. I know kids who got 'C' in classes when they did not even come."

When we checked on the schools with the poor achievement records and the high suspension or police-arrest statistics, sure enough we found them in schools with high absence rates. These proved to be schools in socially

disorganized areas and to have principals or assistant principals close to retirement. Oddly, the records of our Attendance Department showed these schools had filed relatively few truancy reports. So to speak, the school staff had stopped trying. We watched with interest what happened in one of these schools when a new principal took over. He began by putting the clerical staff to work phoning the homes and even visiting the homes when a student was absent. To the students, this was a first sign that someone cared. Of course, this initial move was followed by others directed at significant educational matters.

In another school, a junior high school, where the delinquency rate dropped 50 per cent in one year, the principal began his regime by having the walls and floors thoroughly cleaned. Again the first move was superficial and was followed by dealing with more fundamental matters, but the message was there, "I care."

Let us turn now to another pattern of social deviancy with a rather different, but also familiar pattern to it. Much inner-city delinquency is incubated in groups. Growing up in homes where the adults are neglectful or preoccupied with their own problems, the children receive relatively little supervision. Once they have outgrown infancy, and the need for obviously physical care, adults are seldom prime sources of gratification. By the time they are five or six the children come to depend upon each other for many of their pleasures and for much of their security. So to speak, they meet each other's dependency needs. The result is a great skill in finding casual friends and being a member of a street corner group. Coupled with this is often a yearning for excitement and a very flexible conscience. If there is already a prevalence of delinquency, the boys and girls accept this as a source of fun.

On the surface the youngsters are easy-going and friendly. Beneath this surface, however, is a very deep layer of anxiety which they assuage by making friends. Incidentally, there is a reality to this yearning for protection in the form of friends. In many of the disadvantaged areas, children prey on each other. On the way to school a boy who has neither physical prowess nor friends can lose his lunch money. If he is known to have friends who have the potential of rallying to his support or if he is willing to put up a fight he is safe; the greater security is in having friends.

Wise in the arts of living and sensitive to other people, many of these boys and girls are pretty sharp little manipulators. They know how to appeal to each other; they know how to deal with adults. When they start getting in trouble, what can we do for them?

Interestingly, they are relatively impervious to the arts of one-to-one counseling or therapy. As one psychiatrist put it, "You cannot mobilize their anxiety for therapeutic purposes." In an interview situation, their inclination is less one of searching for self-insight than it is of figuring out how to get along with the adult. It is almost impossible for an adult who is trying to establish rapport not to fall into the manipulations to which the young client will engage. In the well-known study of "Girls at Vocational High" in New York, the clients proved untouched by casework approaches.

What does work? In some instances it is possible to accept the group rather than an individual as the unit with which to work. Many of these groups respond to an adult who is helping them find more interesting ways of spending their time. In many cities there has been significant success with programs based on so-called detached workers who engage the groups in

their native habitats and help them find reasonably acceptable paths to status and enjoyment.

These gang-oriented youngsters also will respond to those forms of group counseling or group psychotherapy which at the beginning focus upon the realities of their social lives. The term, "life space interviewing" has been coined by Redl to deal with this approach. It has been utilized in such well-known projects as the Highfields Experiment. In life space interviewing the adult takes the stance of wanting to help the young person avoid getting in trouble. When there has been an incident, this is talked over in terms of the realities of the situation. If, for instance, Joe got into a jam because he socked a girl who had enraged him by calling his sister a dirty name, we begin by getting him to tell us what both of us know, when a boy and a girl have a fight, everyone blames the boy. And, that is the way it is. So, whether it is fair or not, if you sock a girl you are in trouble. Ergo, if a girl has called your sister a nasty name, you better figure out something else to do besides belt her. What can that something be? If Joe is reasonably ingenious he may come up with a few interesting ideas. If this is being done in a group of other boys, there will be some interesting brainstorming on that. And, if some of the plans seem to have merit, they can be tried out by having Joe role-play a girl and have some of his friends role-play the boy in the case.

Regardless of the specifics of the technique it may be worth our while to analyze the psychological relationships which life-space interviewing entails. First of all, the adult clearly is sympathizing with the culprit for being in trouble, without condoning or approving his actions. But, he also clearly has placed himself in the role of a real friend, the person who sticks with you when you are in trouble. Then the very nature of the

interchanges shows that the adult has sized up the young client as someone who has the competence to make use of good ideas. It tends to express confidence; to bolster that all important self-concept. Lastly, if the boy or girl has a chance to try out a new technique and to find that it works, the pleasant surprise from that discovery tends to provide positive reinforcement. All of us tend to use again those patterns of action which work for us.

Let us turn, now, to some contrasts in deviancy which are likely to be associated with socio-economic class. Note that the very phrasing of the last sentence assumes that at all class levels in this country one will find some deviancy among youth and among adults. But, there are some striking contrasts both in the forms which deviancy takes, the volume with which it presents itself, and the adult mode for dealing with it. These all present problems to which we have to give much thought.

In general, whether we are dealing with urban or rural situations, the deviancies of the underprivileged seem to be rather crude and blatant. (In a way this contrast was highlighted by the way in which his colleagues reacted to the scandalous conduct of Congressman Powell, while taking a benign attitude toward somewhat more elegant scoundrels.) When one interviews children in some inner-city schools one becomes aware of the fact that various forms of shake-down rackets are endemic to the group. A boy past the age of twelve is expected to have to show he can fight to keep his money.

When engaged in the omnipresent youthful pastime of name-calling the epithets they hurl are pungently vulgar. Later, sex conduct may be quite open; the girl who becomes pregnant may keep her child. So to speak, many of the acts which society regards as anti-social are talked about openly

and are displayed rather unabashedly. In fact, there may be flaunting of behavior which bespeaks a devil-may-care attitude toward a basically hostile world which deserves to be attacked and whose rules were made to be flouted before approving audiences.

Of course, in every underprivileged community, whether it be in the center of a city or among the hills of played-out rural regions, there are many good people; often they cling to small churches with rigid rules in protection from what to many seems a flood of evil. However, those who do break the rules can be assured most of the time of an approving, if not an admiring, audience. The boys on the street-corner who taunt the police feel they are heroes. The young pimp may find positive status among some of his companions. There is status and prestige in being someone who outrages the citizens. If one listens, for example, to the deeply insightful tape which Edward R. Murrow made of the comments of the boys in New York who killed Michael Farmer one realizes that many of them were driven by panic that their social standing would have been endangered if they had turned chicken.

This then is a second major dimension. There is no question but that the delinquent in an underprivileged community has plenty of company. We did a study in Detroit of the factors linked to the prevalence of delinquency in various neighborhoods. One could predict the volume of delinquency with 90 per cent accuracy if one knew any one of the following facts about a neighborhood: the average family income, the per cent of families which owned cars, the percentage of mothers on ADC, the percentage of unemployed males, and the percentage of older folks on general public assistance. Poverty and deviancy go hand in hand.

By the way, this is by no means a modern discovery. In his guise of "Poor Richard" it was Benjamin Franklin who observed, "It is hard for an

empty sack to stand upright." He viewed his own campaigns to teach thrift as a necessary prelude to inculcating honesty. He saw poverty as the major enemy to be defeated.

Let us consider, for instance, what is likely to happen if an adolescent girl becomes pregnant. In the middle-class community there is a good chance that the family will muster its resources both to protect her and to see that she gets some treatment. Before her condition becomes too obvious she may be shipped off to take care of poor old Aunt Alma in California. Arrangements will have been made for the baby to be placed for adoption with one of those agencies which specializes in children of good potential.

But, if she is an inner-city girl, the odds are that she stays in the neighborhood and is finally invited to leave school when her condition is obvious. What care she receives is from a public clinic; after she has delivered her baby, she keeps it.

The significance of the ability of middle-class families to do something constructive for those of their children about whom they become worried was illustrated dramatically in the course of a police investigation into the murder of two boys on a playground in a well-to-do area of our city. Trying to help the police investigate possible suspects, the judge of the juvenile court provided a list of all the boys from that neighborhood who had been in his court during the previous five years. As name after name was checked out it became very apparent that the families had been able to react effectively to the first trouble. Each had done something. Some of the boys had been placed in boarding schools; some had been seen by private psychiatrists; and some of the families had used the resources of casework agencies to deal with family situations. Whatever the reason, all of the boys had been given aid which resulted in a cessation of the delinquency.

Not so when one looks at the core city of any metropolitan area. There one finds case after case in which too little was done too late. Besides, the odds are against individual treatment being successful. And, the parents have little skill in appealing to the helping professions; the young people do not know how to respond.

Lest this seem like a superficial observation, place yourself if you will in the chair of a psychologist or a social worker. In walks a nicely groomed mother, who with appropriate diffidence tells you her worries about herself and her daughter. When you ask questions, her replies are responsive to your queries. When you make suggestions she shows her admiration and her appreciation. Obviously, this is good material. You expect success, and you come to like her. (Parenthetically, some studies of various forms of psychotherapy indicate that the best predictor of success with a case is the feeling of appreciation of the therapist for the client.) Be this as it may, because you expect success you do a more careful job of explaining, you take better care about improving the relationship, and if she should phone you at home in the evening you greet her in a friendly style. Small wonder if she and her daughter benefit.

But, what happens if she comes to the office looking dirty, is preceded by a sour stench, and is difficult to understand. Worse yet, if she acts bewildered, misunderstands you, and acts unappreciative; well then, anyone would predict that this is poor material, and that your effort will be wasted. Such predictions are highly accurate--they are self-fulfilling prophecies, the kind which we make come true. This is not because we are bad people or poor practitioners.

It is not strange, then, that when we look at the people who are successful in dealing constructively with the deviances of "the poor" they

prove to be a rather interesting collection of people.

First, we find in many communities those who conform to the picture of the blind leading the blind. This, for example, is the reformed convict who gets pleasure and prestige from helping the fellows who have just been released from the big house. Here is the alcoholic who has shouldered the responsibility of being a good example for active alcoholics whom he takes under his wing. Here is a tough guy who organizes a basketball team.

Second, we have those dedicated professionals who for some inner reason of their own feel that the greatest challenge on the current social scene is to help losers become winners. This is the Junior Leaguer who enlists as tutor for children in an inner-city school; this is the principal of upper-class origin who can swear like the proverbial trooper but do battle for the kids in her school; this is the young clergyman who would rather cast his lot with the people of a slum than be expansively polite from the modernistic pulpit of an architectural gem in a fine community; this is the psychiatrist or the psychologist or the social worker who relishes delinquents so they feel he or she is "for real."

Third, we have the many fine people who, after an American style, accept the ancient injunction, "noblesse oblige." Feeling slightly guilty perhaps at good fortune they do not believe they deserve, or feeling more complete as people because they want to see others thrive, they give voluntarily and freely of themselves. I have tremendous admiration, for example, for the businessmen in one small city who have provided an insightful municipal judge with the most capable corps of volunteer probation officers any community could boast. I have seen college students and comfortable housewives do wonders for the lost souls in mental hospitals and the lost children in schools.

By no means last is the new group of so-called para-professionals being recruited from the people who live in the very areas we call "underprivileged." They know their neighbors, they understand the children, and they have learned to ally themselves with those institutions which offer hope to them and to the people who live next door. The fashion is to call them "aides,"--counselor aides, social work aides, health aides, teacher aides, and attendance aides. Perhaps in the discussion period some in the audience may want to explore in greater details what this group can accomplish. Basically, they provide two facts over and beyond any technical skills they may have developed. One of these is the fact that no sooner do they acquire status then they turn middle class. Having done this they serve as wonderful identification models for youth. Secondly, they know from their own experience that a transition in role is possible and they want to have others get the benefit. So, they care. And, those with whom they come in contact know they care.

Let me close this presentation with a story, which like all stories has its moral. Two years ago as part of a training program for adults who wanted to work with youth in one of our roughest neighborhoods I had arranged to have a panel of rather seriously delinquent boys and girls tell the group what they would like to do. One of the boys said, "You know there are a lot of small garages next to the houses here. Couldn't you get some machines put in them so we could make things to give to the Red Cross?" Not quite getting his point, I replied, "You would like us to get some machines so you could learn to use them and maybe make things you could sell." He added, "Yes, and give it to the Red Cross." Still not getting his point I said, "If you learned how to use the machines you could make good money." Rather impatiently he added, "And give it to the Red Cross." Light dawned

and I asked, "Say, would you like maybe to roll bandages or something like that and then go to the hospitals and see people using your bandages?" Then he beamed, "That's right."

The moral, of course, is that in this society of ours the highest status goes to those who help other people, not to those who are being helped. That lad wanted to be on the giving end, not on the receiving end. In his way he was asking for a place of dignity.

It may seem a rather outlandish thought, but much deviant behavior is a self-defeating effort to achieve an illusion of power, to be a somebody rather than a nobody. Those of us who want to help the victims of deviancy find themselves as self-respecting people might very well keep always in mind that in the long run this is our goal. Reaching it may be much easier if we see that it can be attained by working in partnership with those whom we consider disadvantaged. Those of us gathered in this room today are by definition advantaged; we have something of offer.

Earlier this year, Tin Pan Alley turned out a tune whose refrain was, "Here's to the losers, bless them all." One of its final stanzas talked of the day when the losers would be winners and the givers would receive. As in so many sentimental lyrics there was more than a grain of wisdom in the notion.

Our ultimate goal, then, is to help the disadvantaged to the point where they are in position to help, first to help us help their neighbors, then to help each other, and finally, to help us. For many do have that potential; it is for us to recognize that potential, to appreciate it. Then, we will care for each other. It's worth the doing.

Participants' Reactions to Presentation
by Mr. William W. Wattenberg

Most of the discussion groups spent a considerable amount of time discussing Mr. Wattenberg's comments about the impact of administrative competency (or incompetency) on the school atmosphere. Statements were expressed which, seemingly, reflected the idea that a good principal can only have a limited impact on improving the skills of the teachers in the building, but an incompetent administrator can have a devastating effect on the quality of staff and pupil morale and teacher effectiveness. Numerous examples were presented to illustrate the fact that the inability of principals to effectively deal with those problems considered by the teachers to be within his domain lead to a break-down of communication and to intra-staff bickering which seriously impedes the effectiveness of the teachers.

A small group of teachers expressed the point of view that teachers were, for the most part, afraid to experiment with new approaches to teaching the disadvantaged for fear that failure would reflect negatively upon their teaching ability. The discussion which followed centered on the positive role of the supervisors when working with teachers. One participant expressed the thought that such a role should emphasize "constructive supervision" rather than "destructive snoopervision."

A number of groups discussed possible means of reducing the heavy teaching loads (referring to contact hours as well as number of students) under which teachers in large cities presently labor. Emphasis was placed on the use of para-professionals to staff all non-teaching assignments (study halls, cafeterias, hall duty), the assignment of a teacher aide to a "teaching team" (perhaps four or five teachers) who could handle the clerical tasks for that team (attendance, use of the copying machine, collection of monies, typing of reports, correction of some tests).

Some of the groups spent a large portion of time dealing with an area the importance of which was emphasized by Mr. Wattenberg---the diagnostic and remedial roles of the teachers. Most felt that teachers are presently incapable of accurately diagnosing the problems of children that apparently tend to block learning; that they lack both the skills and the insights which would permit them to effectively carry out those roles. This inability to accurately assess the problems facing the learners obviously lessens the possibility that a given teacher will prescribe the proper remedial program which might enable a student to attain an element of success within our academically oriented schools. The lack of such skill definitely implies a significant "gap" in current teacher education programs; one which must be dealt with soon if the ever-increasing number of disadvantaged pupils is to be helped by the schools.

The reactions of the participants indicated that teachers were sorely lacking knowledge of proper referral channels for their students with specific, identifiable problems. They lack information about which agencies are best suited to deal with which problems and the most effective means of referral once the proper agency has been identified.

A minority of participants in one discussion group took the stance that those students who are unable to conform to the basic school regulations are obviously misfits and should be excluded from the public schools. This same group also expressed the opinion that a general up-grading of all educational opportunities rather than an intensive investment of resources directed toward solving the problems of a single group (i.e.; the disadvantaged) is preferrable.